the WOMAN VOTER

THE CRISIS IN THE NATIONAL WOMEN AND THE POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS

THE CAMPAIGN IN THE COUNTRY

THE NIGHT COURT FOR WOMEN

AUGUST, 1916

Published By the Woman Suffrage Party of New York City

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THE WOMAN VOTER

Published by

The Woman Suffrage Party of New York City

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The Woman Voter is the only magazine published in the interests of the New York State campaign for woman suffrage. It contains official news of the work, authoritative statements on policy by officers of *The New York State Woman Suffrage Party,* and general articles by well known writers.

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THE WOMAN VOTER

AUGUST, 1916

The Woman Suffrage Party has one plank in its platform and only one—votes for the women of New York State, the women of the United States and the women of the world.

The Crisis in the National.

AS the call to an Emergency Convention indicates, the National American Woman Suffrage Association faces a crisis in suffrage history. Since the last meeting of the National Association grave changes have occurred in national affairs and new political situations have created the need of new policies. These new policies if they are to be effective must be formulated and executed before and during the 1916 political campaigns.

The National Association, composed as it is of 67 state associations has always pushed simultaneously for state referenda and a federal amendment. Since 1875, when it caused the introduction of the federal amendment in Congress it has staunchly upheld the necessity of federal action. Every year, through its Congressional Committee it has maintained a lobby in Washington in the interests of the bill. But it has realized that the passage of the federal amendment through Congress is only the beginning of victory and in order to insure its ratification by the necessary majority of state legislatures it has always sought to strengthen the national work by strong state organizations and the winning of as many new states as possible.

Because of the complexity of American politics which makes it possible for one party to be dominant in the nation while another is in power in different states, the National Association has held men and not parties responsible for the progress of suffrage measures in Congress and in the state legislatures rather than either party as a whole. Obviously, if some Democrats are blocking the bill in Congress while in certain states other Democrats are doing all in their power to push the measure through the legislatures, it is unfair to hold the entire party responsible for the Congressional situation. There is no reason, however, why individual Democrats who are so shortsighted as to prevent the passage of the federal amendment in Congress should escape responsibility for their attitude. It is probable that the National Association will hold to strict accountability those individuals who at this moment are keeping the bill in the House Judiciary Committee. The policy for the fall elections adopted by the Emergency Convention will depend upon the action of Congress with regard to the amendment before its adjournment. There is every indication that the National Association intends to use the political power represented by its members who are voters, in the interests of woman suffrage. Just how this power will be utilized and just how the National Association will participate in the coming elections will be determined at Atlantic City in September.

The question of participation in the Congressional elections and adopting an aggressive political policy will be presented and discussed in closed sessions of the Convention. The crisis is so serious that the whole future of the Association rests with the decisions of the Convention. Three courses are open to the National. It may vote to drop work on the federal amendment and concentrate solely on state campaigns; it may decide to concentrate on federal work and abandon state campaigns; or it may vote to continue working for both federal and state action. There is little likelihood that the National will change its non-partisan policy, successfully maintained for forty-eight years. It will not therefore work against any presidential candidate nor against candidates for Congress of any one party. But it can consistently campaign against members of Congress of all or any political parties who are unwilling to vote to submit the federal amendment. Suffragists have never been in a stronger position in this country than they are to-day and even the most casual observer realizes that in the fall elections women will play an important and dramatic part. That

Western women may participate directly in the elections which are of such great importance to the nation at this time only accentuates the disfranchisement of Eastern women. But the day is in sight when the women of this country, East and West, North and South will share alike in the privileges of citizenship.

The Convention.

The Convention will be held at the Nixon Theatre, Atlantic City, from September 6th to September 10th. A printed list of hotels, with schedule of rates will soon be issued by the National Association, with other details of interest to delegates. The Executive Council, according to the National constitution must hold meetings previous to the convention. Mrs. Catt has called an entire day's session for September 5th at the headquarters hotel, the Marlborough Blenheim.

At the first session of the Convention, Mrs. Catt will give a "diagnosis" of the suffrage situation, after which will be a general discussion. In the afternoon the delegates will divide into groups and each group will select a state best adapted to campaign work. The report of these groups will be made to the entire council later in the afternoon. The evening will be devoted to discussion of a possible constructive plan by which to secure greater efficiency.

In New York

THE campaign in New York State goes forward quietly but persistently and effectively, laying the groundwork in organization for the more spectacular work to follow in 1917. In the assembly districts, members of the Party are canvassing, making new lists of voters, registering their views on suffrage, enrolling women as workers in the new campaign and becoming even better acquainted with their own districts and special problems. Delegates to the Emergency Convention of the National have been chosen and New York will send a full delegation to participate in the important discussions at Atlantic City.

Throughout the State every effort is being made to secure suffrage endorsements from the County Conventions of the political parties. Should the Democrats and Republicans of New York hold "unofficial" conventions as in previous years, the New York State Woman Suffrage Party will send representatives to urge planks endorsing suffrage and recommending the resubmission of the amendment in 1917.

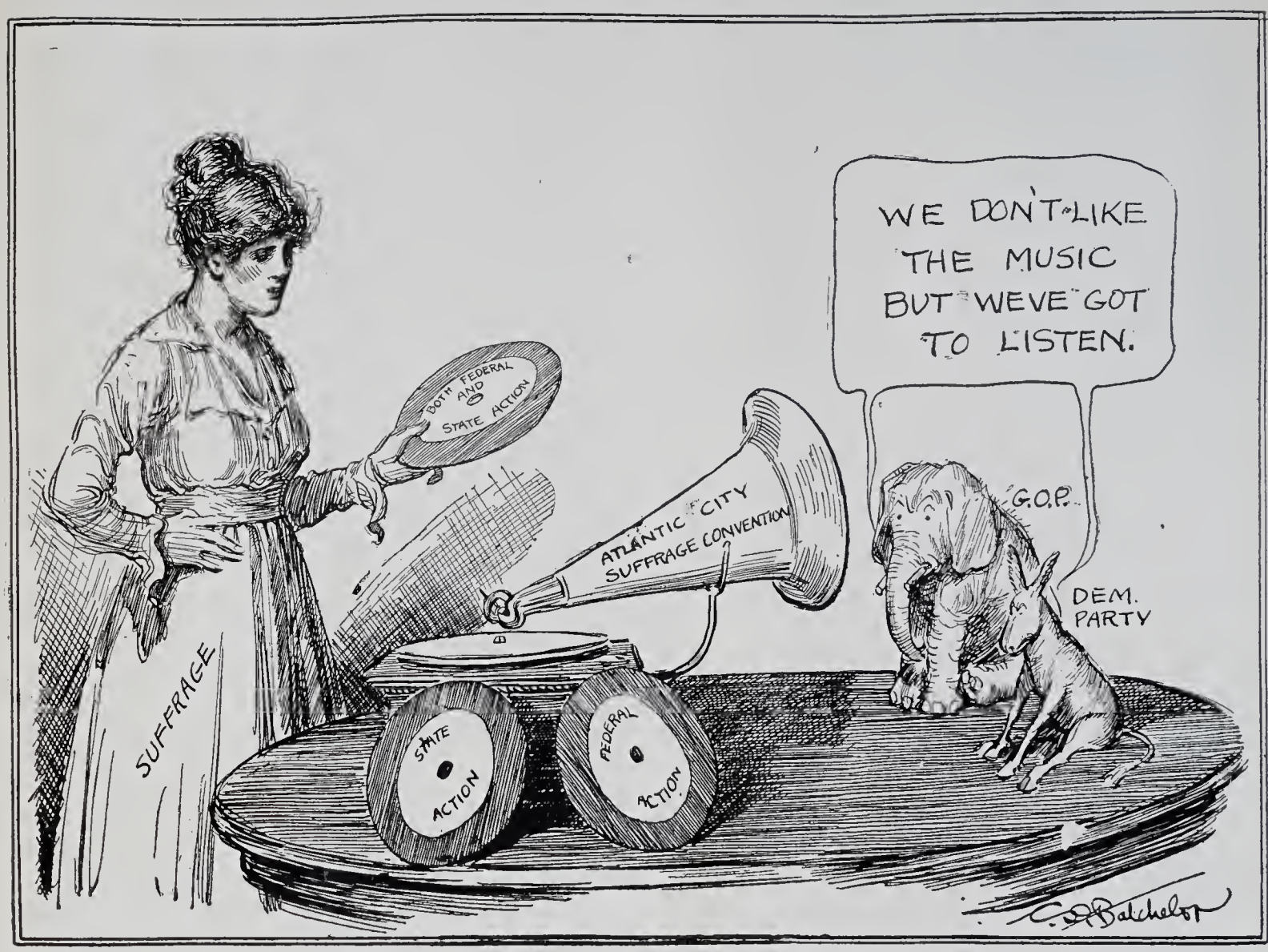
Concerning the effect of the national suffrage planks, Mrs. Norman de R. Whitehouse, chairman of the New York State Woman Suffrage Party says,

"Both National parties have unequivocally endorsed the principle of suffrage to be adopted by the states. New York State is in the midst of a campaign and it seems evident that with the support of every political party, we must win. There has never before been a campaign of any sort carried on under such favorable circumstances. With New York on the suffrage map, I believe the greater number of states will fall into line very quickly."

THE terrible epidemic of infantile paralysis which has been raging in New York has brought home more convincingly than suffrage argument, the importance of municipal housekeeping. Although little is known of the origin of the disease, its course seems to have a definite relation to sanitary conditions. "The infected area," says Health Commissioner Emerson, "contains many old tenements, and garbage and ashes are deposited in the halls. It is reported that these areas are infested with cats, and the garbage and ash piles draw flies."

The whole city administration has co-operated with the Health Department in its effort to clean-up the city. Despite heroic efforts, however, the plague continues. Suffragists have given up their regular work to assist in the campaign against the disease. The splendid work of members of the Woman Suffrage Party of Brooklyn, has won the approval of the entire city. Workers have volunteered to act as assistant nurses, have provided automobiles to distribute Board of Health pamphlets, carry speakers to the infected districts and give public addresses on the precautionary measures advised. In the other Boroughs, thousands of leaflets containing information from the Board of Health have been given out by Party workers.

Meanwhile, women who are bending every effort to help conquer the epidemic are wondering if any better illustration of the relation of the home to the city could be found. For every endeavor to check the disease, concerns not only individuals but the community as a whole. Questions of garbage disposal, street cleaning, food inspection, the conditions on playgrounds, in schools, in moving picture shows, on street cars and even in tenement and apartment houses are matters of government. If the government plays such an important part in regulating the affairs of the home and if the safety of children is so dependent upon the efficiency of government, it is quite time that women, who are vitally con-



Headquarters Bulletin

AN IMPORTANT CHOICE.

SUFFRAGE: "Shall I try a new record or stick to the double disc?"

cerned with these matters should have a voice in governmental affairs.

OUT of 3,000 applicants, 400 well endorsed East side mothers have already been selected to start New York City's staff of Mother Police. A regular Mother's Police Court has already developed before which girls may bring cases against dance hall proprietors and resort keepers. "The disclosures made by five young women who had shunned the publicity of an appeal to regular authorities, tended to show that the 'cadet' system for leading girls astray has been flourishing on the East side." As a plan for guarding every girl, captains in the Mother Police Corps have been placed in charge of squads. These squads are assigned to such duties as watching over beach resorts, dance halls and play grounds. They will also be alert to the sanitary and health conditions of all these places. "Innocent ignorance," says one wise member of the Mother Police, "is no protection for a girl."

On July 10th a school of dental hygiene was opened for women under the direction of Hunter College and the Vanderbilt Dental Clinic of the College of Physicians and Surgeons. In April, the Seely Bill gave women of the State a right to be graduated as dental hygienists. This is a new field with positions for women ranging from dentists assistants to school supervisors and instructors. With the co-operation of the Board of Health, dental hygienists will teach school children the essentials of the care of the teeth.

The recent investigation of restaurants in New York City was most disquieting to those who like to think that their food is prepared under reasonably clean conditions.

"Diogenes in his tub hunting for an honest man was much in the same boat with the Inspectors of the New York City Health Department who are trying to find some clean restaurants in Manhattan," comments Anna Cadogan Etz. "On the proved successful policy of setting a thief to catch a thief; the investigation of the Health Department shows that New York City would do well to take over officially the women of the community, who are, to say the least, better equipped than men

to run that part of the city government which deals with the kitchen."

THE right to vote is the only essential right of citizenship. It is the right preservative of all rights," declared Secretary of New York State, Francis M. Hugo. One might have thought that he was giving an address on woman suffrage but he wasn't. He was outlining the method by which 10,000 or more soldier-voters of New York State might participate in the coming elections from darkest Mexico. According to law, it is the duty of the Secretary of State to provide and distribute registry blanks and official war ballots to soldiers and sailors in the United States service. "These men," continues the Secretary, "qualified to vote at home cannot be disqualified merely because they are out of the state, engaged in supporting the Government of the United States."

Of the million or more women who are disqualified to vote, not because they are out of the State, but because they are in the State which does not regard them as citizens, the government has nothing to say. Yet the women who stay at home supporting the government hold with Secretary Hugo that "the right to vote is the right preservative of all rights" —and they wonder how long it will be before they are permitted to exercise that right.

Women and the Political Campaigns

THE New York State Hughes Alliance, an organization of voters, has named two women, Dr. Katherine B. Davis, Chairman of the Municipal Board of Parole, and Mrs. George W. Wickersham, as members of the executive committee. Such a thing has never happened before, except in a suffrage state or a committee of the Progressive Party, comments *The New York Tribune:* "It makes an epoch. The choice signifies woman's coming-out party in New York politics, and is being reckoned with by Republicans and Democrats, by Progressives and Prohibitionists alike. Not one leader of any party has attempted to deny woman's importance in the campaign."

The Woman's Roosevelt League, with its slogan "Who's for Hughes?" expects to enroll 4,000 members by the first of September. Women are joining so fast that they are being divided into occupational groups, doctors, authors, lawyers and business women.

The National Hughes Alliance has a Woman's Committee of which Miss Frances A. Kellor is chairman. The object of the committee is to have 100,000 women come out for Hughes by September first.

Branch organizations are being formed in all the cities and in all the states. Any woman anywhere in the United States may affiliate directly with the organization. Any twenty-five women in the community will be notified that they may organize in a local branch, and obtain a charter.

The Presidential Candidates.

BOTH presidential candidates are suffragists, but in this election, women are demanding more than a sympathetic word from the candidates. President Wilson is a "states-rights" suffragist. He voted for the amendment in New Jersey and the Democratic plank which "favors the extension of the franchise to the women of this country, state by state," expresses his attitude. He has never endorsed the federal amendment and he has never given encouragement to suffragists in their Congressional work. There are rumors, however, that he may change his mind about the advisability of a federal bill and Democrats all over the country are keenly interested in what suffragists are doing and saying. It is reported that President Wilson is giving the matter much thought. Certainly after giving hearty support to a federal child labor bill, he can consistently advocate a federal suffrage measure.

MR. HUGHES has declared his belief in woman suffrage and has given a number of very satisfactory interviews to suffrage deputations. He has promised to make a definite statement concerning his position in his formal speech accepting the Republican nomination for President, July 31st. It is generally believed that Mr. Hughes will make woman suffrage an issue in his campaign. The New York Tribune says:

"From sources close to ex-Justice Hughes and of the highest reliability it can be stated that the Republican candidate for President has decided to make suffrage one of the issues of his campaign.

"Although the Republican platform declares the question properly one for the States to decide, Mr. Hughes, it is affirmed, feels justified in broadening the interpretation of the plank to favor a federal amendment.

"The Republican candidate has been impelled to this course by two reasons. Always inclined to favor suffrage, he is understood to have been brought to see the necessity of national action, as embodied in the Susan B. Anthony amendment, if the cause is to succeed.

"Second, he and his advisers have come to see the political advantage afforded by the treatment given to suffragists at the Democratic convention. Even Democrats here admit that a technical mistake was made in antagonizing women voters of twelve States, controlling a total of ninety-one electoral votes.

"Since the Democrats' action Republicans have been inclined to strengthen their own position on suffrage. It is a question how many votes the two women's parties can deliver, and the Republican leaders are not inclined to pass lightly over any allies against the Democrats.

"The virtual impossibility of getting suffrage in many States through State action is said to have strongly influenced Mr. Hughes.

"Republican leaders who favor suffrage also point out that the passage of such an amendment would not necessarily infringe on the platform at all. It would still be the privilege of the State to regulate suffrage in any way it saw fit; it could fix whatever qualifications it chose for its voters. Only the federal government would say that those qualifications should not discriminate in sex."

The Woman's Party

THE Woman's Party, organized by the Congressional Union, has issued a call for a conference in Colorado Springs, on August 10th, 11th and 12th. The purpose of the conference is to decide upon the policy of the Woman's Party during the presidential elections. The action of the conference will depend upon what the Democratic Party will do for the Susan B. Anthony amendment, or what Mr. Hughes promises to do, or what the minority parties offer.

The Congressional Union points to the fact that since the last presidential election, woman's political power has more than doubled. In 1912 there were but six suffrage states, with about 2,000,000 qualified to vote, and these states elected only thirty-seven members to the Electoral College. To-day, there are twelve suffrage states, controlling ninety-one electoral votes or one-fifth of the Electoral College, with about 4,000,000 women qualified to vote for President.

The Evening Sun.

The New Status of Suffrage

Reprinted from the New York Evening Post.

A WASHINGTON dispatch reports that Mr. Hughes is expected to come out, in his speech of acceptance, or later, for the amendment to the Federal Constitution giving the vote to women. Whether this is true we have no means of knowing. If Mr. Hughes is converted to the cause of suffrage it would be natural for him to set about aiding its triumph by means of national action. For he is a strong nationalist. Without any desire to limit or override the rights and functions of the States, his instinct is to appeal, in questions affecting the whole country, to a direct exertion of the Federal power. In his address before the Bar Association of New York last winter this tendency of his public thinking was made clearly manifest. And if he has made up his mind that woman suffrage is now a national question pressing for settlement, and exercising a distracting and divising influence on our political life so long as it remains unsettled, it would

not be surprising to find him urging that it be dealt with in a national way.

Whatever may be the attitude of Mr. Hughes, it is certain that woman suffrage has acquired an entirely new status. No longer is it a suppliant at the doors of party conventions. It has gained such strength that both parties have now been compelled to bow to it. To this fact not the due attention has been given in the excitement over candidates, over the European war, and over our possible embroiling with Mexico. To have made a conquest of both Republicans and Democrats in a single year is a signal achievement. It puts the suffrage cause forward by a great leap. In both party platforms the principle is conceded. The Democrats "recommend the extension of the franchise to the women of the country . . . upon the same terms as to men." The Republican plank was even more emphatic. It "favors the extension of the suffrage to women" because it is "a measure of justice to one-half of the adult people of this country."

YES, but everything was to be left to the States. Extension "by the States" was the Democratic phrase. And the Republicans recognized "the right of each State to settle this question for itself." The intent of this, it is said, was plain. It was meant to head off a suffrage amendment to the Federal Constitution. But this does not necessarily follow. Even a Federal amendment has to be submitted to the States. Passed by a two-thirds vote in Congress it still requires ratification by three-fourths of the States. In this sense, and technically speaking, it would be the States that would settle the suffrage question for themselves, even supposing the attempt were made by Federal initiative. Thus if any candidate for the Presidency, or any Representative or Senator, is living in mortal terror of violating his party platform by advocating an amendment of the national Constitution, let him be reassured! He could salve his conscience and soothe his constituents by stoutly maintaining that this way of extending the franchise was really "by the States."

We would not seriously argue the matter on so narrow a ground. It is not a case for device or subterfuge. Rather must the appeal be to equity and justice and a large view of the nation's true interest. The trick would be for both great parties to endorse woman suffrage without meaning it; to make a promise with no purpose of keeping it. And is it not the fact that to send the women back to fight in State after State—conditions being what they are—is to deal most unfairly by them? If the road to State amendments were open and easy the case would be different. But in many States the processes of Constitutional amendment are made so complex and dilatory that even the getting to a vote is very difficult. A proposed Federal amendment on the contrary, would go quickly and automatically before the Legislatures of all the States, so that decision could be reached at a comparatively early date. The amendment could be made an issue in the election of Legislatures, and thus it would be virtually a referendum to the voters. And the point is that a more direct and swift method could be tried than the slow and roundabout effort in separate States.

This is, in few words, the argument for the amendment now pending in Congress. Its effective section is: "The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex." Thirty years ago, or even ten, such a proposal would have seemed ill-timed and hopeless. But a great transformation has come. Where ten men thought it expedient to give women the vote a hundred do now. Even convinced opponents of woman suffrage admit that its coming is only a question of time. And with both parties now committed to it—the only hesitation being about the method of making it the law of the land—why should not the new standing and heightened importance of the question be recognized in the broadest national way? It is an obstacle which ought to be got out of the path; so that, this contention being removed, American citizens might be free to devote their energies to the greater public needs, undeterred and undivided by sex.

THE National Education Association, representing thousands of teachers of the country, strongly endorsed equal suffrage at its convention in New York early in July. The declaration which is an endorsement of both state and federal action urges members of the association "to endeavor in every possible way to hasten the confirmation of woman suffrage." One of the strongest speeches of the convention was made by Ella Flagg Young, formerly superintendent of public schools in Chicago, who said that "the teachers of Chicago found that in order to get anything done they had to have voting power behind them."

The Campaign in the Country

Nettie R. Shuler

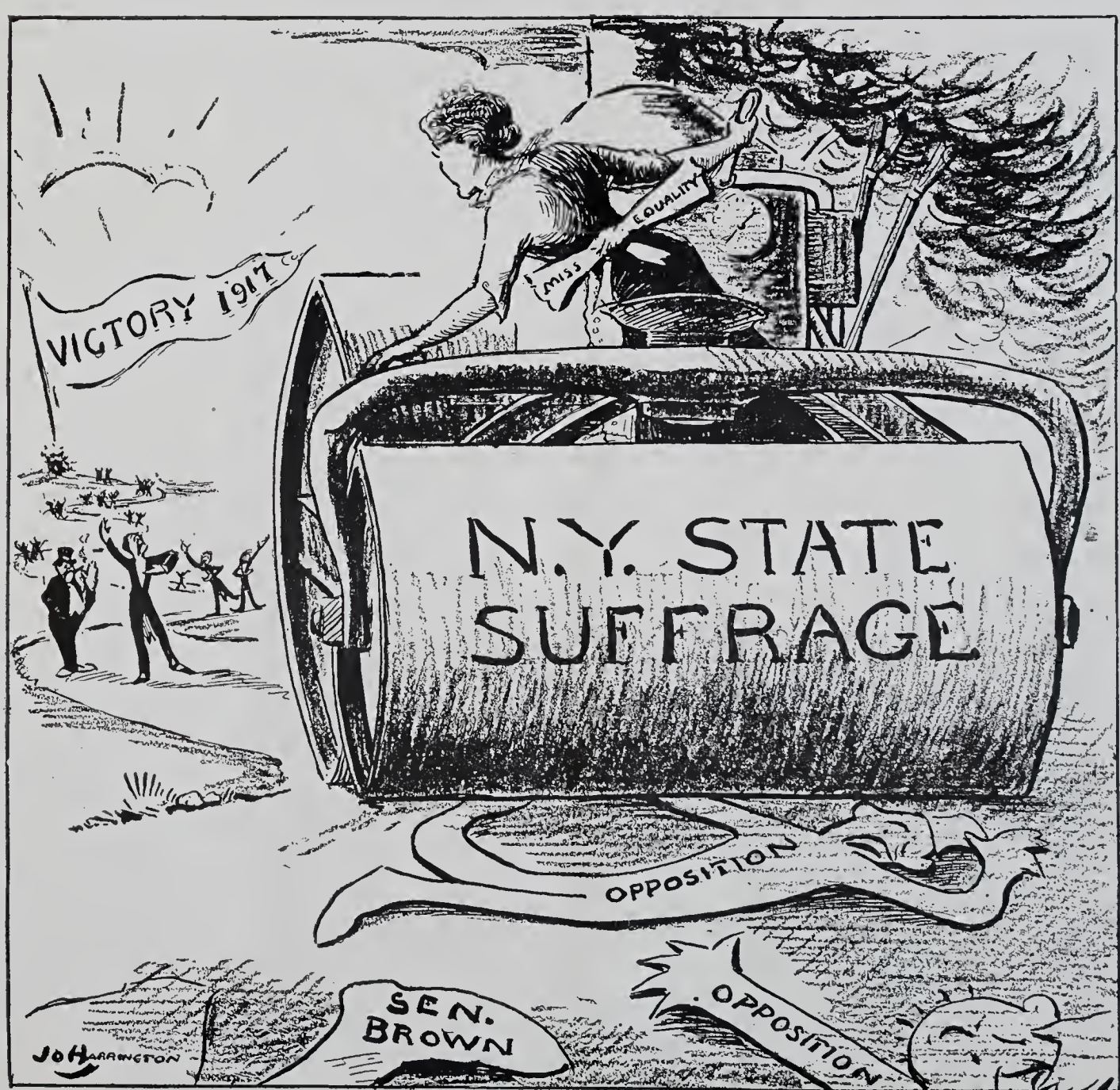
HAVE you ever considered how many different methods of work it takes to reach the widely-varying people of New York State?

Just as the city differs from the country so do sections of the country differ from each other, and it takes years of accumulative knowledge to understand how to enlist the help of country women.

Six months of traveling through the State, covering thirteen thousand nine hundred and eighty miles, meeting the workers and attending thirty assembly district conventions has shown me the growth of our movement. The organization as it stands to-day is a living pulsating monument to the greatest leader among women the world has ever known. Mrs. Catt with her genius for organization founded the Woman Suffrage Party of New York City, and it is this form of organization which is now enlisting the women up-state.

A study of the spread of assembly district organization itself is a fair indication of the difference in women through the state. The city woman, in contact with the vital moving forces of the day, quickly grasps new methods, makes up her mind what she wants to do and then is so placed that she can inspire or give inspiration in hundreds of different ways.

Not the first visitor to an up-state town, nor always the second or third is sure to gain the ear of its citizen. It takes longer to convince him but when his adherence is won it is a victory, and when a town becomes alive with suffrage sentiment it is so really alive that it is a thing to gloat over. It means surmounting tremendous difficulties for work and once the country woman's enthusiasm reaches this point she is the pioneer and you may safely trust that she will continue what she has started.



With easy transportation facilities and all possible aids for spreading suffrage propaganda it is not always easy for suffragists in the cities to realize that the woman in the smaller community is more tied to her home both by actual duties and by tradition. Moreover, it is not easy to start a woman who has never been over the hill just south of her town on a canvassing expedition. The country woman may see what is going on in the road to a greater degree than her city sister, but she sees it under a corner of the lifted blind and direct questions as to the opinion of her neighbor do not come easily to her lips.

Already we are chronicling the sacrifices of the country women in this new campaign. In Alleghany County a woman came to her assembly district convention, leaving behind her the farm where the night before lightning had struck the barn burning all that it contained. All through the southern tier of counties women went to their conventions through terrible conditions occasioned by a cloudburst. In one town when an automobile bearing a load of women stuck in the mud five miles from the meeting-place, the women got out and ploughed their way on foot. It was up in the North country that an old, old lady living in a home for aged women, far away from friends and her few kinsfolk pledged to the suffrage cause her only pocket money, ten cents a week given to her for the moving picture show.

The eagerness with which educational propaganda is sought is a hopeful indication of success for the gain of the franchise and a successful use of it afterward. The correspondence course was hailed with acclaim by many women who confessed the meagerness of their suffrage knowledge. In some of the smaller districts where the women did not have even the quarter fee for the course, five and even six women clubbed together to get it, and the precious leaflets are being carried miles between the subscribers. In some towns the women asked if it were permitted to copy the correspondence lessons and laborious long-copies of the lessons are being circulated among women who could not afford to pay twenty-five cents for the course.

The 1915 campaign was a big step forward in the general education of the people. There are few now who say that they do not understand suffrage, or have not heard about it.

Especially is this true of the up-state politician. He has learned a wholesome lesson of respect in his treatment of the women, and interviewers now are generally receiving a direct reply. A suffragist can even read hope in a "no," because it at least means that the man has considered the question important enough for him to form an opinion on it; that his attitude toward women has changed, so that he is now willing to give a dignified answer instead of the aggravating shilly-shallying which appeared to lead nowhere.

There are many hopeful indications for the 1917 campaign. Women who were indifferent before are becoming more interested; many of them were aroused by the suffrage defeat. Patient dripping has worn away the stone of conservatism in the Hudson and Mohawk Valleys and women are for the first time taking hold of suffrage work in an organized, businesslike fashion. In counties, where there was a splendid organization before, such as Niagara, there is now developing a perfect one, with every nook and corner of the county working for its own enfranchisement.

The newspapers are becoming more valuable allies. In the last campaign some women found that the small town newspapers with their patent inside pages which left little room for local news, would not print suffrage items. The women are now able more intelligently to present their case and many editors have evinced interest in the cause. Where before suffrage news was often limited to sensational happenings with often little foundation the reading public is getting a more honest view of suffrage and suffragists.

Then the women themselves are showing a marked gain in ability to carry on their own work. Everywhere women are coming forward, displaying increased executive ability. Many districts will be able to supply at least part of their own speakers during the next campaign. During the conventions it was remarkable to note the number of local women able to preside, to make speeches and to take part well in the discussions.

Human nature is the same in New York City as in Blossom, but we suffrage workers are learning one of the most valuable lessons of our campaign, when we learn to appreciate differences in environment, difference in outlook and traditions and together can make a basis for mutual understanding and together climb the hill of our endeavor.

"The women were directly responsible for the enactment by our last Legislature of a mothers' pension law, a child hygiene bureau to promote the health of our boys and girls, and an industrial welfare commission which compels all employers of labor to pay decent, living wages and a decent schedule of hours, and which absolutely wipes out the curse of child labor."

Governor Capper of Kansas.

The Night Court for Women

Martha Gruening

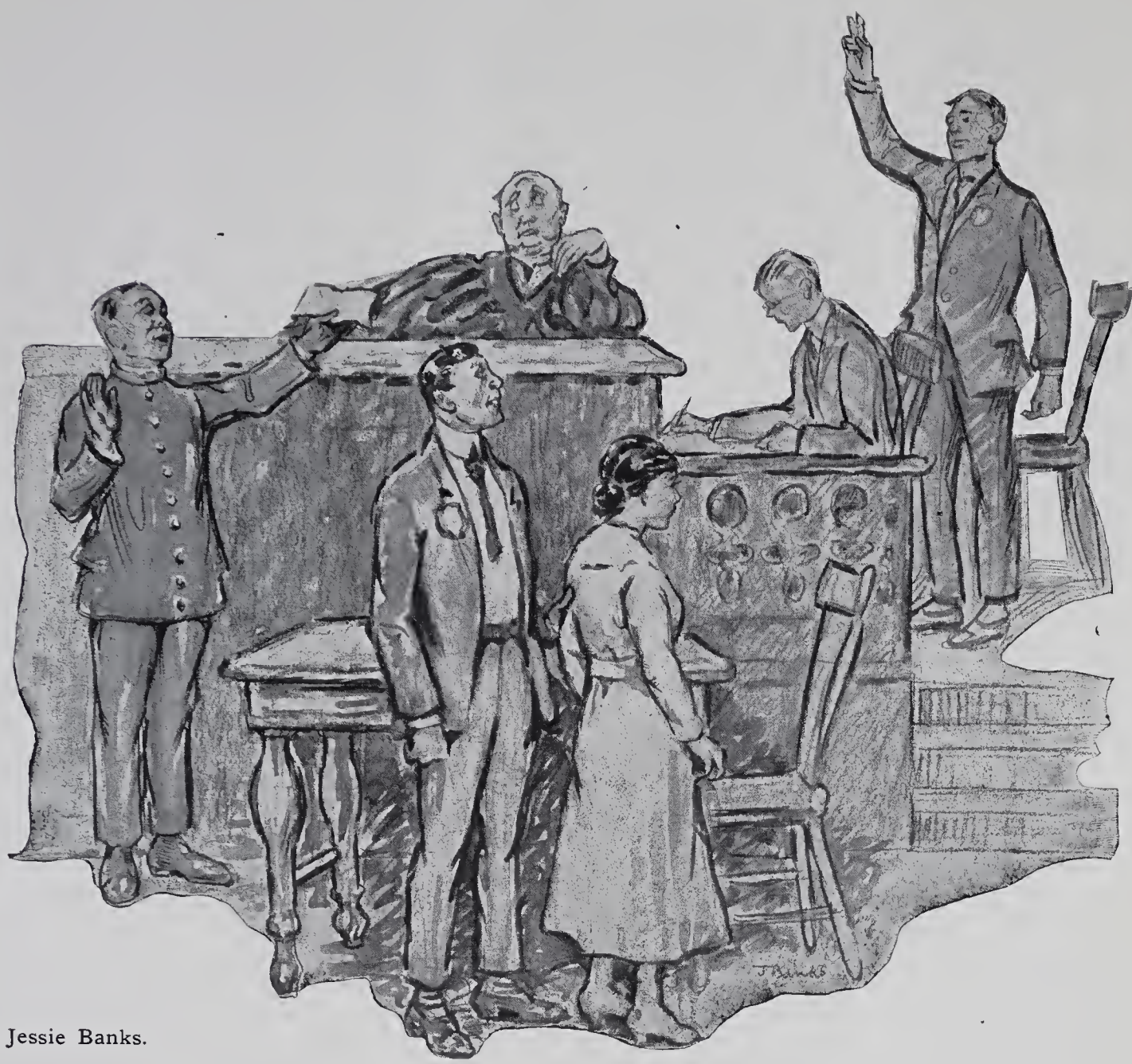
THE magistrates in the Women's Night Court are most careful to guard the rights of defendants" says Chief City Magistrate William McAdoo in his latest official report* "in fact in no case does the defendant need other counsel or defence than that which the magistrate is sure to accord her." Yet, in further describing the procedure in this court he states that: "a painted and obviously vicious huzzy cannot have her word taken as against that of a respectable policeman."

How does the magistrate's care work out in such a case? In 1914, says the report, 2521, or 83.9% of the women brought into the Night Court, charged with prostitution were convicted, finger-printed and sentenced. The great majority of them were convicted on the unsupported testimony of a plain clothes man, sometimes on the team-work of two plain clothes men, hunting in couples. Many of them were, if guilty, first offenders. Many offered the testimony of apparently reputable witnesses contradicting the story of the plain clothes men as well as of creditable character witnesses; yet the story of the plain clothes men invariably prevailed. It is worth noting in this connection the provisions of the Penal Law that in all sex offenses which can be committed against women only (abduction, seduction and rape) no conviction can be had on the unsupported testimony of the woman injured. In the Night Court, however, where only women are judged, justice may not be hampered by the difficulty of securing trustworthy testimony but is administered on Mr. McAdoo's principle quoted above: "a painted and obviously vicious huzzy cannot have her word taken as against that of a respectable policeman."

This is a very fair sample of the judicial spirit in which Night Court proceedings are conducted; as a picture of principals in a Night Court case, however, it is highly imaginative. Though I have spent many nights in this court I have almost never seen a woman brought before the court who answered this description. Only once did I see a woman who seemed to me unmistakably of the prostitute type and never have I seen such a woman brought in by a respectable policeman. It is not an accurate description of the type of plain clothes man assigned to this duty. A woman brought before this court is, however, assumed to be a "vicious huzzy". She is not assumed to be innocent until proven guilty as she is legally entitled to be but is required to establish her innocence by an overwhelming weight of evidence against a prejudice so strong that it discounts in advance her testimony and that of her witnesses.

Once convicted and finger-printed in the Night Court such a woman may be sentenced at once or held for investigation by the Probation Officer. In the latter case she is locked up in Jefferson Market Prison—it may be for several days—and held practically incommunicado. When the Probation Officer finally reports on her case she does not make her report in writing as she is legally required to do.** Frequently she makes it in a whisper ignoring the right of the defendant and her counsel to hear what is being said. Magistrate McAdoo elsewhere in his report condemns this as a "slipshod, snapshot, bargain-counter method" of reporting and states that it has been abolished in every other magistrates' court in the first division. The Night Court is, as he says, "an institution by itself." Women who are convicted and placed on probation may be sent home on condition of reporting weekly to the Probation Officer or committed to one of the various charitable or denominational homes which specialize in them, sometimes for an indeterminate period. Probation is rare, however, the great majority of the convicts being sent to Blackwell's Island. Under the old law the maximum sentence which could be imposed on them was six months. Under a law which became effective January 1, 1916, a woman who has two previous fingerprints against her may be given an indeterminate sentence of not more than two years. I have seen several women receive this sentence as they formerly received lighter sentences on the unsupported testimony of plain clothes men.

There is probably little doubt that most of these women are, or have at some time been, prostitutes, but there is grave reason to doubt that the majority are plying their trade when they are arrested, or that in most cases they actually do the soliciting. That they were first solicited by the plain clothes men is a charge frequently made even by defendants who have pleaded guilty and the plain clothes men them-



Jessie Banks.

selves freely admit, as a rule, buying drinks and presents for the girls they wish to trap into soliciting them. In one case I even heard a plain clothes man admit on the stand that he had solicited the girl he arrested, having been the first to suggest that they "go have a good time" the Night Court euphemism for this transaction. The defendant, however, was convicted of having solicited him. "It is difficult for the plain clothes men to get the required evidence in any other way" says a former Commissioner of Corrections, "they frequently do speak first, I believe, but the women they get are, after all, prostitutes." So to wipe out prostitution the City of New York maintains a force of plain clothes men and Police Department stool pigeons to induce women to commit prostitution. It pays them for this work. It supplies them with marked money with which to trap their victims after it has served to bribe them. It apparently makes no investigation into their conduct while thus engaged though the glimpses of these men, afforded by the court room, suggests that such an investigation might be made with profit. Their constant needless and offensive handling of their prisoners, even in the presence of the court, is not reassuring as to what may have happened before they reached it. This is the system which keeps our streets "clean" and "free from professional prostitutes."

Because of the cases in which it deals it is sometimes assumed that the function of the Night Court is to punish sexual immorality. This is not the case. Sexual immorality in itself is not a crime. It is not a crime, for instance, when committed in expensive hotels and private houses, but it is a crime when committed in tenement houses, for both men and women. To the class distinction already inherent in the law, those charged with its enforcement have added the further distinction of sex. The law makes it a crime for a "person" to solicit on the street or to commit or to induce another to commit prostitution in a tenement house. Section 1148 of The Penal Law refers expressly to "male persons" guilty of soliciting in public places. The word "person" however, is apparently interpreted by the police to mean "woman" even when so qualified. In accordance with this view the City of New York maintains a squad of plain clothes men solely to round up women guilty of these of-

fenses. It maintains no corresponding squad of either plain clothes men or women to arrest the men guilty of the same offenses and does not in any way punish the men found with these women when they are arrested, or the plain clothes men when they break the law. Theoretically "mashers" may be arrested for soliciting or otherwise annoying women, but such an arrest is still a sufficient rarity to be featured as a news story when it occurs, and the woman who insists on having the arrest made must appear as a complainant or the case will be dismissed. A man who causes the arrest of a woman for soliciting is not obliged to appear against her; the evidence of the policeman or detective making the arrest is in her case considered sufficient. During 1914, says the McAdoo report, 666 persons (their sex is not indicated) were arrested and convicted of various forms of disorderly conduct of which "mashing" was one. During the same period 901 women and no men were arrested for soliciting; 809 women and no men were arrested for loitering; 1281 women and 53 men were arrested for violation of the Tenement House Act. The figures are indicative of the deeply rooted conviction of police and magistrates that sex offenses can be committed only by women; a conviction which finds expression not only in their treatment of adults, but even in their handling of juvenile delinquents in the Children's Court from whose records one might gather that only little girls are ever "in danger of becoming morally depraved."

Although the Night Court is nominally a court of law, it conforms to no recognized form of legal procedure. Its sentences are imposed not as a result of established guilt, but of certain assumptions rarely supported and frequently rebutted by the evidence before it. At best, owing to its limited jurisdiction it could enforce only a part of the law. What it actually enforces is not so much the law of the State as the double standard of morals. According to this standard it gives us "clean" streets, that is, streets free from women who are prostitutes or relatively so. To achieve this legal end it makes an illegal use of decoys and illegally makes the streets unsafe for all women.*** It violates the rights of defendants and witnesses and subverts the rules of evidence. There is far greater danger to the community in this kind of lawbreaking than is that from which it seeks to protect us.

*Page I. "Annual Report of the City Magistrates' Courts of the City of New York (First Division) for the year ending December 31, 1914."

**Page II. Duties of Probation Officers. Penal Code, Section II, subdivision 2a.

***Page VI. Magistrate Frothingham recently made the statement in the Night Court to Miss Anna Moscowitz of the Woman Lawyers Committee that a woman who was seen speaking to a strange man on the street was "presumed to have solicited him."

CITIZENSHIP by correspondence is not limited to the United States military service. The "absent voters" law has been passed in several states. Virginia has a law which is a model of the kind. Under it the voter can vote by affidavit if absent from his home. He marks and mails his ballot directed to the precinct in which he lives. On election day it is opened, the name read, checked off on the poll-book and the folded ballot deposited in the ballot box. This method of voting is endorsed by the United Commercial Travellers Union and other men whose business often keeps them from home on election day. A similar bill is to be introduced in the next Minnesota legislature.

"Such a law," says the Southern States Suffrage press bulletin, "would be a tremendous impetus for the woman suffrage cause. It would remove the objections so often and so foolishly urged against the presence of women at the polls. The most timid woman could express her preference by mail and avoid the necessity of leaving her home for even the fifteen minutes required to vote in her circumscribed precinct. Verily the antis will soon be hard pressed for arguments against votes for women. Not even a militant anti could object to permitting a woman fifteen minutes from home. The Minnesota law suggests domestic possibilities such as thoughtful marking of ballots around the family table and comparison of candidates would cause the ward-boss to 'trun a fit' as the mailed ballots were dropped in the box."

AT its recent meeting in Grand Rapids, Michigan, The Great Hive of the Ladies of the Modern Maccabees, representing more than 50,000 women again endorsed woman suffrage. The resolution reads:

"Resolved, That this convention officially endorses national woman suffrage and will stand at all times ready to aid fulfillment of its purpose."

With Our Allies—the Antis

For the best "pearl" sent each month we will give a year's subscription to The Woman Voter.

Prize Pearl

"No woman's anti-suffrage association, so far as we can discover, has ever officially issued a single sentence in which the dignity, power, status, intelligence or importance of woman is regarded as secondary, subservient or inferior to that of man."
Our Conviction. —*The Woman's Protest.*

We wonder if the author of this statement of anti-suffrage conviction in the June number of *The Woman's Protest* has read the list of "Books Recommended for Reading" on page 16 of the same issue. Either the sentences which we quote have escaped her attention or she makes a subtle distinction between issuing and circulating literature.

From *Feminism* by Mr. and Mrs. John Martin: (First on the list.)

"Man's moral duty to woman is to prevent her destroying herself by jumping her track."

"Womanhood is an infirmity from which women rarely, if ever, wholly recover."

"No law precludes a woman from starting a small cotton or woolen mill, engaging other women to operate the machinery, establishing her own credit by skillful management and gradually enlarging her mill until she stands among the giants. But where have women thus mastered the difficulties which even negro men, against greater external odds, have conquered?"

"Women have no affinity with laws; they lack the aptitude either to make laws or obey them."

"Women's minds seem to move rather in curves and circles, following lines more beautiful perhaps, but more irregular and more disconcerting. And thus it arises that when one woman's mind comes in contact with other women's minds, all equally erratic in their orbits, there results a certain mutual bewilderment."

From *Woman Adrift* by Harold Owen: (Fourth on the list.)

"Men have finer perceptions in regards to those minor moral points which come within what we call a code of honor. For instance a woman has less scruple about paying her gambling debts than men, and it is doing no injustice to the sex to say that they are the finest kleptomaniacs in the world. But though woman has no better grasp of moral principles than man, though her moral perceptions are no keener than his, her moral example acts more directly than man's, and it needs a personal object for its expression. But this narrow and concentrated habit of mind produces a defect of judgment which might make women even a danger in politics."

From *The Unexpurgated Case Against Woman Suffrage* by Sir Almroth Wright. (Eighth on the list.)

"The woman voter would be pernicious to the State not only because she could not back her vote by physical force, but also by reason of her intellectual defects."

"It may be pointed out that woman, even intelligent woman, nurses all sorts of misconceptions about herself. She, for instance, is constantly picturing to herself that she can as a worker lay claim to the same all-around efficiency as a man—forgetting that woman is notoriously unadapted to tasks in which severe physical hardships have to be confronted; and that hardly anyone would, if other alternative offered, employ a woman in any work which imposed upon her a combined physical and mental strain, or in any work where emergencies might have to be faced."

"In like manner the suffragist is fond of picturing to herself that woman is for all ordinary purposes the intellectual equal, and that the intelligent woman is the superior of the ordinary man."

"Yet a third point has to come into consideration in connection with the woman voter. This is that she would be pernicious to the State also by virtue of her defective moral equipment."

"In this matter one would not be very far from the truth if one alleged that there are no good women, but only women who have lived under the influence of good men."

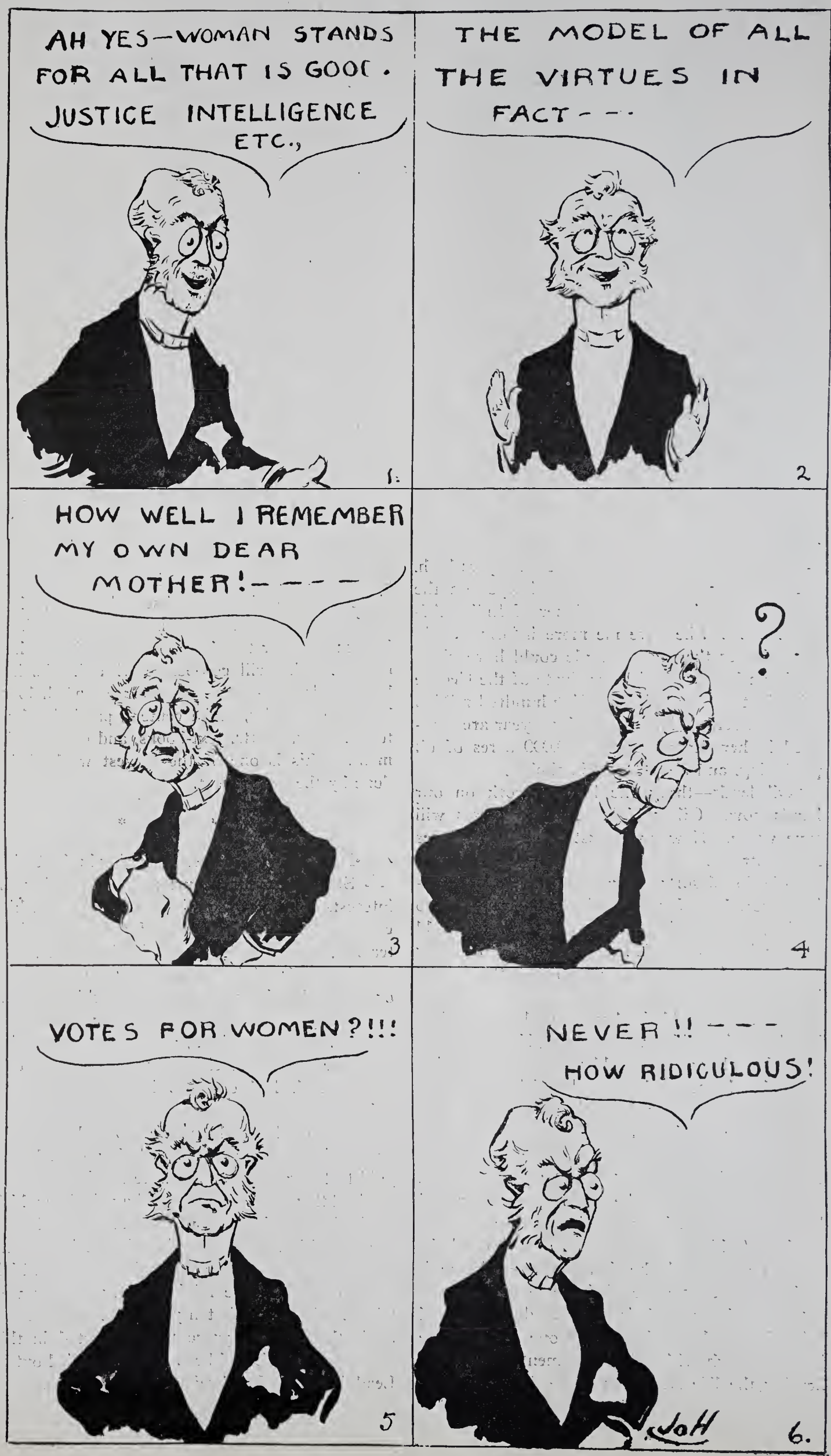
To Everett P. Wheeler

("Women are often tempters to sexual sin and delight in it. . . A recent report of a female probation officer relates that some of the girls who, as we may say euphemistically 'had gone astray' owned to her that they enjoyed the life of the evil house."—Everett P. Wheeler; *The Case Against Woman Suffrage,* published by the Man-Suffrage Association Opposed to Political Suffrage for Women.)

IT may be so, good sir, it may be so,
Not all who sin are tempted—that we know:
It may be darker things than this are true,
And yet, upon my soul, if I were you—
A man, no longer young, at peace, secured
From all that tempting women have endured
Of poverty and ignorance and fear
And joy that make youth terrible and dear,
If I were you, before I took my pen
And wrote those words to hearten other men,
And give them greater sense of moral ease
In the long score of common sins like these,
If I were you, I would have held my hand
In fire.
Ah, well; you would not understand.

ALICE DUER MILLER *in The Masses.*

CONSISTENCY.



In America's Home Office

Marie Mattingly Maloney

Excerpts reprinted from The Woman's Magazine

KNOWLEDGE, like charity, should begin at home." And that part of the Government which comes closest to home is the Interior Department.

The roadways of the nation, the streams that give it life, the patents of the world, the pensions of old soldiers, the education of 22,000,000 children, the mines of the country, the water power, Alaska—that last treasure to be given to the world—the Indian tribes, by the treatment of whom we may best judge the honesty of an administration, that is a partial list of the work of the "Home Office."

* * * *

TWO of the members of the Board of Judges on Indian Affairs are women, lawyers both.

Miss Florence Etheridge is a lawyer on the staff of Cato Sells, Commissioner of Indian Affairs. . . . She gave me more information in five minutes than most people could have given me in an hour. She is a graduate of the George Washington Law School. Nine hundred million dollars' worth of land properties a year are managed in her department—3,000,000 acres of oil producing, and 300,000,000 in timber.

"Oil lands—that's the biggest work on our hands now. Oil is high. New processes will save waste. New laws must come—new leases and contracts.

"We do all sorts of business here, from finding a row boat for an Indian who wants to go fishing, to protecting the estate of some rich old buck, who has married a white adventuress, or marketing the $1,000,000 worth of cotton raised by the Pimas."

Mrs. M. L. Baldwin, brown eyed and smiling, is a domestic looking woman, who, if you met her away from her work, would suggest to your mind a model home and several spick and span youngsters, who would get three square meals a day and a cooky jar on the side.

"I came into the department some years ago," Mrs. Baldwin told me. "I came as a clerk. . . . I am an Indian (of the Ojibway tribe) and I have always been interested in my race. I went to the Washington College of Law, got admitted to the bar, took the civil service legal examination and became one of the legal staff here.

"Most of my work is done on deeds of land belonging to the Indians. But one cannot come in daily touch with this department, seeing and hearing the life stories of those first people of our land, and watching their rapid growth as a race under fair treatment, without feeling the call of service."

* * * *

A WOMAN, Miss Catherine Cook, has this year been put in charge of the development of rural schools. Miss Cook was a teacher in Colorado, then a district superintendent. Four years ago she was elected State Commissioner of Education in Colorado.

This woman knows the problems of the rural schools. She has lived through the hardships of bad roads, inadequate school buildings, and the lack of neighborhood and school spirit.

Miss Cook has established, under the direction of Dr. P. P. Claxton, United States Commissioner of Education, a rural school bureau, where teachers, parents or others interested may obtain information for the development of their school centers. She will co-operate with the farthest backwoods one-room schoolhouse and help to build up libraries, social centers, patriotic plays, to get maps, charts, text-books, and other equipment. This is one of the biggest works being done by the department.

* * * *

THE Bureau of Mines is fighting in the United States Supreme Court a case involving the interests of many millions of dollars which centers around the patents of a woman school teacher, who stumbled on a scientific secret.

Colorado is talking of putting up a monument or some other form of memorial to this woman.

Carrie J. Everson made this discovery one day in Denver, back in 1885, when she was bending over the wash tub, cleansing some greasy ore-sacks which had come to her brother's assay office.

While washing them she noticed that the grease from the sacks floated tiny particles of gold to the surface of the water. Mrs. Everson realized that she had discovered a principle which might be practically applied—that oil and gold were affinities. After a series of experiments she secured patents on an oil flotation process which was to revolutionize mining. Her process was tried out in Australia ten years ago. From Australia the flotation process was adopted in this country, where it had been originally tried out in Leadville in 1885 and rejected as worthless.

The process is cheaper than any other known way of extracting metal. Mining men say that Mrs. Everson has added untold millions to the world's wealth. Fortunes are being made from abandoned dumps of old properties in Colorado.

Not until the Colorado Scientific Society appointed a committee to solve the mystery of flotation's discovery did it become known that the credit was Mrs. Everson's. She died November 3, 1914, at San Anselmo, Cal., without having received a dollar from the process which is making millions for others.

It was the purpose of the Colorado Scientific Society in starting the search for the discoverer of flotation to reward Mrs. Everson if she proved to be alive. Hundreds of mining men in the West stood ready to present her with a fortune, even though she could claim no royalties for the use of her patent.

* * * *

AND now we come to patents.

"Patents," I said to Secretary Lane, "patents are not in women's line—if the historians be truth tellers."

"Women are about neck and neck with men in patents," said Mr. Lane. "Women are among the inventors of everything from shoestrings to aeroplanes. And women, several women, are among our patent examiners. There is one woman over there who beat over three hundred men in a competitive examination for examiner—Miss Saunders—she is fifty feet down the hall from here."

It is worth a good many fifty feet to meet Miss Saunders. She is not a man hater, but she is right there to stand up for women and to bundle up that hoary old fable about a woman's inventive bump being a dent in a paper bag and throw it overboard.

Miss Saunders is a tall, fair, well groomed woman who, when she is not examining specifications for aeroplanes or garbage cans, may be found on the golf links or tennis courts at the country club.

"Paper bags," said she, "were invented by a woman. Before that men wrapped up their packages in cloth or paper. We didn't have bags until 1871. Then an English girl named Margaret Knight invented the bag. Queen Victoria decorated her for her invention. She is now at work on her seventy-ninth invention. Her first achievement was a covered shuttle, which is now in universal use in cotton mills. She was only 12 years old when she did that. Ever hear a man tell about it?"

Miss Saunders turned from a blue-print and with a twinkle in her blue eyes asked:

"Ever hear men say that women will go on doing the hardest kind of work instead of stopping to invent some labor-saving device? That isn't so. One night stands in the 'opry' house towns taught Lillian Russell the need of a dress trunk—and she invented one herself.

"And there is Harriet Ruth Tracy, who has a whole cabinet of inventions and patents to herself. All labor-saving devices, sewing machine attachments and time savers. And they are good patents—not just theories.

"It was a woman, Mrs. Sarah Rosentoven, who invented a linen collar buttonhole which you can find in the dark—note that she is a married woman."

And then I ran my eyes down the list of women's inventions—garbage pails which do not have to be bent over; iron rests which do not necessitate the lifting of the iron; kettles which can be removed with safety adjustable handles; baby cribs which can be folded up into small, compact bundles; fire escapes and window washers. In fact, it is window washers and fire escapes that seem to be most in women's minds. They nearly double in number the list of other patents.

* * * *

IN the Pension Office I found Miss Anna Wilson, whom Secretary Lane called "one of the most notable women in the department."

For the better part of a generation this woman has been in the Interior Department. Years ago she saw a big patriotic work for some one to do. She begged to be allowed to do it. Year after year she went to Cabinet officers, politicians and patriots.

"The first records of the nation should be preserved," was her warning cry. "Those papers which some day will be priceless are now being shifted from one quarter to another. They are folded, creased, rotting. They are the birth records of the nation. They ought to be catalogued and properly housed and preserved."

This warning was like the wilderness cry of John the Baptist. But, like John, Miss Wilson refused to be stilled. Two years ago she was allowed to start the work of cataloguing the records; she was given files and space and time. That is all she needed.

To-day every record of every man or woman—yes, there were women—who served the United States in its war is filed alphabetically and in such form as will preserve them. You can go in and ask for the records of the Joneses, Smiths or Browns who have served Uncle Sam, and the facts will be put before you even as though you asked for Shakespeare or the Congressional Directory.

Some day "to-morrow's children," as Mr. Lane calls them, will write the name of Anna Wilson as a patriot.

The Woman Suffrage Party of New York City

Edited by
Adaline W. Sterling

THE City Committee Meeting held on July 10th was the first gathering since district re-apportionment had been effected in the five Boroughs. Hence many new faces appeared at the meeting, and many familiar faces were missing. Perhaps it was the weather, and perhaps is was because many had left town on summer vacations, but the attendance was not as large as it is usually. And more's the pity, for the meeting was of great importance and interest. It was a call to arms, a summons to be up and doing along the necessary lines—canvassing the women, and interviewing politicians of every degree of authority and of every party.

Mrs. Whitehouse, State Chairman, gave a very interesting account of the progress of work up state, of completed canvassing in one or two districts and of interviews with individual members of County and State political committees.

After Mrs. Whitehouse had hurried away to her work at State headquarters, Miss Hay took up the subject of canvassing and the duty of every leader, every captain and every worker in connection therewith. The City Chairman read a carefully tabulated estimate of the number of enrollments of women which must be obtained in each district of the city. These enrollments simply *must* be secured, and the time long since assigned for final returns is September. Miss Hay put the matter very plainly and forcibly as work not spectacular, not as attractive as other lines perhaps, but nevertheless as work which must be undertaken. It was neither difficult nor disagreeable, Miss Hay assured the leaders, when the beginning was once made, the long lists already sent in proved that point. The address was a rouser and it certainly roused enthusiasm and renewed activity.

THE serious epidemic affecting children throughout the city was taken under consideration. After suggestion and discussion it was decided to offer the services of our organization through our canvassers and workers to the Board of Health to aid in the fight against poliomyelitis by assisting in the distribution of literature, and by observing and reporting violations of the sanitary code. It was argued that often an intelligent, sympathetic worker might reduce to intelligible terms the technical instructions of the circulars. Mrs. Martha W. Suffren was placed in charge of the work and communicated at once with Dr. Emerson who availed himself of the proffered aid.

A PLEASANT feature of the last month was the dinner given on July 6th in the Della Robbia room of the Hotel Vanderbilt by the Teachers' Section of the New York Woman Suffrage Party to many noted suffrage educators in attendance on the meeting of the National Educational Association. Among the guests of honor and after dinner speakers were four State Superintendents of education, Mrs. Mary C. C. Bradford, of Colorado; Mrs. Josephine Preston, of Washington; Miss Edith K. C. Clark,

(*Continued on Page 23.*)

National American Woman Suffrage Association
Headquarters—171 Madison Avenue
Chairman—Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt

New York State Woman Suffrage Party
Headquarters—303 Fifth Avenue
Chairman—Mrs. Norman de R. Whitehouse

Woman Suffrage Party of New York City
Headquarters—48 East 34th Street
Chairman—
Miss Mary G. Hay, 2 West 86th Street

AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION

Notice is hereby given that Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, or someone designated by her, will offer the following amendment to the constitution of the National American Woman Suffrage Association at the National Convention in September:

Amend Article 2, by striking out the words "National and" so that the Article when amended will read, "The object of this Association shall be to secure protection, in their right to vote, to the women citizens of the United States, by appropriate State legislation;" and also on motion of Mrs. Catt, the following:

Amend Article 2, by striking out the words "and State" so that when amended the article will read, "The object of this Association shall be to secure protection, in their right to vote, to the women citizens of the United States, by appropriate National legislation:"

Notice is also given that Mrs. Raymond Brown will offer the following amendment:

Amend Article 5, Section 1, by substituting, "The Board of Directors of the Association shall consist of the Honorary President and the Officers of the Association as elected at the annual convention in the manner hereinafter provided:"

Notice is also given that Miss Hannah J. Patterson will offer the following amendment:

Amend Article 3, Section 2, paragraph 1, by inserting after "members," "whose constitution and policy are in harmony with the constitution and policy of the National American Woman Suffrage Association" so that the paragraph when amended shall read, "Any suffrage organization of 200 or more certified members whose constitution and policy are in harmony with the constitution and policy of the National American Woman Suffrage Association may become an Affiliated member;" and also the following:

Amend Article 7, Section 1, paragraph 1, by adding after the word "business" the following sentence, "But no person shall be a member of the Executive Council who holds office in any suffrage organization which does not endorse the policy of the National American Woman Suffrage Association:"

Notice is also given that Mrs. John O. Miller, on behalf of the Pennsylvania Woman Suffrage Association will offer the following amendment:

Amend Article 6, Section 1, paragraph 2, by substituting, "Each of such officers shall serve for the term of two years beginning immediately upon the close of each alternate convention."

Notice is also given that Mrs. Harrison Monro Brown, on behalf of the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association, will offer the following amendment:

Amend Article 3, Section 2, by substituting, "An affiliated member shall be any suffrage organization of 2,000 or more certified members, and there shall be but one such in each State. (Note—States having more than one affiliated member shall have until Jan. 1, 1917 to adjust matters. The Senior Organization shall continue): and also the following:

Amend Article 3, Section 3, by substituting, "An Associate member shall be any organization of 200 or more certified members which officially endorses woman suffrage providing such member is approved by a two-thirds vote of the Executive Council and upon payment of annual dues of $50.00."

Amend Article 3, Section 4, by substituting, "A Cooperating member shall be any individual who pays annual dues of $10.00."

Amend Article 3, Section 5, by substituting, "A Life member shall be any individual why pays $100.00."

A motion will be offered at the Convention to make any changes necessary in the phraseology of the various sections of the constitution to conform to any of the amendments which may be adopted by the Convention.

HANNAH J. PATTERSON,
Corresponding Secretary.

of Wyoming and Miss Bernice McCoy, of Idaho. Other speakers were Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, Mrs. Norman De R. Whitehouse and Miss Mary Garret Hay. Conversation during dinner developed the fact that these women from suffrage states were not all of the same political faith, and would vote according to party affiliations.

THE "stunt" of the month took place on July 28th and was evolved from Mrs. Haskell's fertile brain. Again a leaflet played the principal role. At all the ferries leading Jerseywards, and at the railway stations, bands of suffrage workers handed out a leaflet to women on vacation bound, and to men who evidently were hurrying to their families in country homes. The leaflet addressed to "Dear Out-Of-Town-Sister" is a masterpiece in its picture of contrasting conditions and its suffrage appeal. This is what a "Mother of the Tenements," one of some one hundred thousand, says to her more fortunate sister:

Dear Out-of-Town-Sister:

What does summer mean to you? Coolness, quiet, beauty, leisure, health. What does it mean to me and mine? Toil, heat, noise, disease.

These are striking differences between our lots in life.

There are contrasts just as great to be found in:

OUR CHILDREN

Yours enjoy the beautiful country as a playground. Have good influences constantly about them. Are well nourished physically, well trained mentally, are safeguarded from harm and have bright futures.

Mine romp in the dirty and conjested streets. Receive bad influences from low dance halls, saloons and motion picture places. Suffer because of cheap food, bad air, dark and cramped quarters. Receive brief and inadequate schooling. Are subject to disease and harm since $98\frac{2}{10}$ out of every 1,000 poor city babies that are born, die—and about 400 children are killed yearly in New York City from street accidents.

OUR HOMES

Yours is well built, light, sanitary, set amid clean streets.

Mine is small unsanitary with ill kept surroundings.

OUR FOOD

Yours is plentiful, clean and good.

Mine is cheap, unclean and adulterated.

OUR WORK

You do light housework or intellectual labor and have leisure for study and recreation.

I do housework and sweatshop labor to earn money. As a woman worker, I am wretchedly paid and there are many discriminations against me. I have no time to read or play. At least 100,000 families in New York tenements do sweatshop labor at home. They send disease to the well-to-do through the garments they make.

The health, food, houses, work, and schools of the people are under supervision of Public Officials elected by Voters. Good votes will help the poor more than charity. Thousands of women are asking for the ballot for this very reason.

Will you not use the health and strength you are acquiring to help us win that great civic weapon the vote?

Join the Woman Suffrage Party (48 East 34th Street) and work to bring better conditions for all the women and children of the City.

The enfranchised women of 12 Western states prove that Lady Bountiful up-to-date is the lady with the ballot.

A MOTHER OF THE TENEMENTS.

With many of the leaflets went a small box of home made candy containing a certain number of pieces, and a little poem telling why the pieces were not more numerous.

Within this box are suffrage sweets,
Their number **TWELVE**—we pray you note,
A stick for every western state,
Where women have the right to vote.

Wyoming first set woman free,
Then Colorado, Idaho,
And Utah followed, then there came
These states all in a suffrage row:—

Arizona, Illinois,
Kansas, far off Washington,
Montana, California,
Nevada then and Oregon.

If these confections now you like,
Pray help more suffrage states to win,
So that 'twill take a larger box,
To get our suffrage candies in.

Certainly leaflet and poem read on some shaded porch, or on a stretch of lawn where children were happily playing amid healthful surroundings preached a sermon which drew its own moral.

Jottings from the Boroughs

Manhattan

MANHATTAN Borough has been the most thoroughly carved of any other portion of the City of New York in the re-apportionment proceedings. With seven districts eliminated by merger, the arrangement of the political map has been materially changed. As to the numbering of the districts, a few retain the old designation with changed boundaries; for the rest—there may have been reasons in the aldermanic mind for the re-numbering, but to the laity it looks like a casual hop, skip and jump.

The Borough Executive Committee had rather a task, but the leaders who found themselves outside the limits of their former districts co-operated unselfishly, accepted the situation, and were ready to serve in humbler capacity. Nevertheless it *was* hard, and something requiring suffrage, if not Christian forbearance, to hand over a well-organized neighborhood with efficient workers to another district just because of political re-adjusting for party purposes.

However the change is an accomplished fact and with three places to be filled, the twenty-three who lead the suffrage divisions are:—1st, Mrs. Margaret Fay; 2nd, Mrs. Romano K. Spivack; 3rd, Miss Minnie Voloshen; 5th, Miss Ethel Stebbins; 6th, Mrs. Esther Lerner; 8th, Mrs. Edward Van Zile; 9th, Mrs. W. H. Wilson; 10th, Miss Helen Hill; 11th, Miss Emily Hooper; 12th, Mrs. James Gear; 14th, Mrs. G. Oestreicher; 15th, Miss B. Cecil Howard; 16th, Mrs. Paul Becker; 17th, Mrs. Emily Weisberg; 18th, Mrs. W. F. McCusker; 19th, Mrs. Robert T. Oliver; 21st, Mrs. Charles L. Guy; 22nd, Miss Annie Mathews; 23rd, Mrs. Ella Kilbourn.

Meetings have been held during the past month at some of the well known localities, and canvassing has been carried on with good results, though many workers are on vacation. The Borough has assisted the Board of Health in the distribution of circulars concerning infantile paralysis and of instruction to mothers, and has given friendly counsel and warning unofficially. Street meetings will be in a large measure suspended for the present.

Brooklyn

THOUGH politicians are here and there making protests about district lines, the work of redistricting is practically accomplished and leaders of the Woman Suffrage Party are now appointing captains in portions of territory added, and enlisting workers and getting down to serious canvassing. Three assembly districts have yet to elect leaders. Leaders of the other districts are: 1st, Mrs. Townsend Scudder; 3rd, Mrs. Joseph C. Hale; 4th, Mrs. Rose Brunner; 5th, Mrs. Joseph Whelen; 6th, Mrs. Mark Rudich; 7th, Mrs. H. M. Read; 8th, Mrs. Bessie Crafer; 9th, Mrs. E. F. Whitaker; 10th, Mrs. W. A. Prendergast; 11th, Mrs. J. N. Perkins; 12th, Miss Adele A. Frank; 13th, Mrs. Earl H. Mayne; 15th, Mrs. R. E. Van Giesen; 16th, Mrs. James H. Nelson; 17th, Mrs. E. D. Bush; 18th, Mrs. Wm. C. Maclin; 19th, Mrs. H. Blank; 20th, Mrs. W. C. Dean; 22nd, Mrs. W. H. Reeveland; 23rd, Mrs. A. A. Schlickerman.

A civic committee has been formed to co-operate with the Board of Health by distributing printed instructions for protection and cleanliness in the congested districts in the present epidemic of infantile paralysis.

Bronx

MISS Ida M. Stadie, retiring leader of the 32nd Assembly District, gave a reception at her home, 270 Willis Ave. on July 12th to Mrs. Thomas Martin, the new leader of the 1st Assembly District. Over two hundred and fifty invitations were issued, and the parlors were crowded with members of the district, who assured Mrs. Martin of their support in the coming campaign. Other guests were Mrs. Daniel Appleton Palmer, Borough Chairman, and leaders of the new districts.

The Borough has gained three assembly districts by the new apportionment, and the leaders, besides Mrs. Martin mentioned above, are 2nd, Mrs. C. Ford; 3rd, Mrs. Alice Petluck; 4th, Mrs. N. Ulanov; 5th, Miss Elizabeth Hoagland; 6th, Mrs. William Swan; 7th, Mrs. Cornelia Robinson; 8th, Miss Alice V. Conklin. With the exception of the leader of the 6th A. D., all the leaders are new.

A series of suffrage hikes has been planned for the summer and fall and the idea is for the hikers to meet at the end of some car line at about 7 P. M. and to walk for a couple of hours to an outlying part of the Borough. Then they will be met by some suffragist, a resident of the section, who will have arranged a lawn party with suffrage speaking, or a regular suffrage meeting. The first hike took place on Saturday, July 15th, when the route was from the Simpson St. subway station to Westchester. Miss Alice Conklin was hostess, and had arranged a meeting at Westchester Square. Among the hikers were Miss Ida M. Stadie, chairman of the Suffrage Hikes, Mrs. Thomas Martin, Miss Edith Bayreuther, Miss Julia A. Gainey and Mrs. E. Hunwick.

Queens

For some unknown reason, "brides-to-be" were not numerous on June 21st when the Queens suffragists visited the Marriage License Bureau at Long Island City. The leaflet to "Miss Bride-to-be" contained such excellent advice leading to future happiness, that Mrs. Rodger, Borough leader, and her associates decided that the precious message must not be wasted.

So each week a copy of the leaflet is mailed to each prospective bride whose name appears in the local papers.

The suffrage organization has a new automobile, a six cylinder "Grant," which will greatly facilitate the work in the Borough of magnificent distances.

Past activities have been a Borough meeting for organization held at Masonic Hall, Jamaica, on June 24th at which addresses were made by Mesdames Van Zile, Leavitt, Hutchins, and Miss Sterling. On June 27th Dr. Katherine B. Davis spoke at the Rich-

mond Hill High School on "Self-Government as a Disciplinary Measure." Miss Sterling gave a practical talk on canvassing to the Morris Park Club at its meeting on July 5th. The great event of the past month was the meeting on July 19th at the summer home of Mrs. J. Hedges Crowell at Far Rockaway. Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw and Mr. Oscar J. Smith were the speakers on suffrage, and other contributors to the program were Miss Nieman, harp soloist, Miss Florence Pratt, soprano, and Mrs. Elizabeth Cameron Carey who read several selections. The attendance was large and enthusiastic. Meetings planned for this month have been postponed as a precautionery measure, though thus far the Borough has had but few cases of the prevailing epidemic. The suffrage organization stands ready to co-operate with the Board of Health in distributing circulars, or in other direction where service may be required.

In the assembly re-apportionment the Borough has gained and now numbers six districts. The old first and fourth districts are the same, the second district becomes the third, and the third is now the fifth. The former leaders retain their offices, and new leaders are still to be chosen in the second and sixth districts.

Richmond

ACTIVITY in the Borough has been confined to canvassing during the past month, and to shifting some captains and workers made necessary by the addition of another assembly district. Politicians have not been overlooked but have been visited and interviewed as to their stand on suffrage. Mrs. F. E. Brewer remains leader of the 1st Assembly District, and Miss Cora L. Butler has been made leader of the new 2d Assembly District.

The Party Idea Grows.

MRS. FLORENCE HOWE HALL, former leader of the 12th Assembly District, Manhattan, is spending the summer in Newport, R. I., and is assisting her sister, Mrs. Maud Howe Elliott, president of the Newport County Suffrage League.

In her own effective work in Manhattan, Mrs. Hall learned the value of the house to house canvassing plan of the Woman Suffrage Party, and has introduced this method in the campaign under her direction.

Of her present experience Mrs. Hall writes: "At first it was very difficult to induce the women to undertake the work, especially in their own home town. But gradually they have become interested and even enthusiastic.

"Suffrage is not fashionable here yet; many of the society leaders being either opposed or 'on the fence.' We are much pleased to find a general interest in the subject among our townspeople, many having joined our associate membership.

"The canvassing bee ends with a luncheon given by some good suffragist where we compare notes and have a good time. The neighboring towns are sending delegates to learn our methods which they hope to introduce at home. Thus does the good work spread and grow."

An Automobile Lament

Familiarly they call me the "18" but to those who are more formally introduced "the Packard 18." They tell me I am of an extinct species, therefore rare and valuable, although it is only my seventh anniversary. * * *

I have become wheezy in the service, my ignition is poor and I have developed an inability to start without repeated crankings, changings of the spark and mixture. My "shoffer" says my engine needs to be "all tore down," my timing gears don't time, my clutch slips, my piston rings are "wore out," my radiator leaks and it is all because of Woman Suffrage.

Many evenings I have gone out with twice the number of women I was built to carry, and the middle-aged women who work for suffrage are heavy. They sit three deep in each other's laps with the young helpers perched on the doors. I was relieved in my mind when they had to hook those doors because they sagged.

Miles and miles I have gone over rough country roads, carrying these heavy people, my whole nice shiny black coat obscured by yellow signs and pennants, proclaiming "Victory," "Vote for the Amendment," "Votes for Women," etc., till finally we have stopped alongside of a saloon. I know it is hard to find a corner on S. I. that has not a saloon on it, but it is a reflection on a car which touches alcohol in no form, except as a non-freezing mixture. And then the speeches! What I don't know about speeches, and what suffrage will do for the world at large! There is the speech which foretells that the millenium is coming when women vote in New York. There is the speech which deals in figures, statistics and percentages till the crowd are dizzy. There is the speech which slams the man who takes alcohol when his radiator is in no danger of freezing (which is of course reprehensible, but he don't care to be told so on the street corner).

There is the speech which reverts to ancient times, and alludes feelingly to the Roman ladies, these being of such paramount interest to the modern Pole.

The kind I like best is the one which tells the men that women are human beings, and need the ballot just as the men do, and that because men and women *are* different the county needs the woman's vote, too. I like that kind and so do the crowd.

I went to Rochester last year without any trouble except one puncture, leaving finer cars disabled on the road. Now that my days are numbered, before I pass into oblivion I want the ladies to know that I carried Woman Suffrage on Staten Island.—*The Richmond County Advance.*

New Wars For Old.

By John Haynes Holmes. Published by Dodd, Mead & Co., Price, $1.50 *net.*

A FEW years ago, says John Haynes Holmes outlining the problem of his *New Wars For Old,* most forward looking people had come to believe that the menace of national conflict had passed forever. It seemed as if the human race had at last made the beginning of a civilization based upon peace and good-will. Numerous treaties of arbitration between great states had been signed, international societies had been organized and between the best minds of every country was personal communication and fellowship. "Great international movements, such as socialism, woman suffrage, universal

religion and the peace propaganda itself, were more and more tending to obliterate the artificial boundaries of nations, and thus to unite people upon a basis not of geographical accident, but of those sublime interests of human good which from their very nature transcend all distinctions of language, creed, nationality and race." Then came the Great War and our ideals of peace where shattered in a day.

This great catastrophe brings us back to the basic problems of life which we had believed settled. Again we must define the principles upon which we believe civilization to be founded. We are face to face with moral and spiritual questions which involve not only peace and security but life itself. Mr. Holmes takes the uncompromising stand that force as a principle of life has failed utterly. He shows how every relationship of life which had its beginning on the animal plane of physical control has evolved by the gradual abandonment of force and the substitution of love and mutual aid.

To Mr. Holmes there is no justification for war at any time or under any circumstances. "No man is wise enough, no nation is important enough, no human interest is precious enough, to justify the wholesale destruction and murder which constitute the essence of war. Human life alone is sacred. The interests of human life are alone sovereign." Instead of justifying war, glorifying war, extolling what are called the "heroic" virtues of war, we must take the stand that war like "famine, disease, cannibalism, infanticide, human sacrifice will be utterly abolished and permanent and universal peace established on the earth." Peace offers opportunity for the development of those heroic and courageous actions which advocates of war find necessary in the stern strife of life. If the value of war is the redemption of the earth from ease, sloth and corruption, peace offers even greater opportunities. For man must yet conquer nature, overcome disease and abolish social corruption.

America was built upon the ideals of international brotherhood and democracy. It is her duty to keep faithful to those ideals which now appear to be perishing from the earth. "It seems as though this war were a kind of terrible purging of the ancient world, in preparation of the coming of the modern world." And so, the great need of the hour is not arms, but ideals, not physical defence but defence of the spirit of democracy and brotherhood which the people of the earth will be ready to accept when they lay down their blood-stained weapons and seek the ways of peace.

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